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#### CARDINAL TENETS OF THE PEOPLES PARTY.

Recognition of the Right of the People to Rule, *i. e.*, The Initiative and Referendum.

Creation and Maintenance of an Honest Measure of Values.

Government Ownership and Operation of Railroad, Telegraph and Telephone Lines.

Opposition to Trusts.

Opposition to Alien Ownership of Land and Court-made Law.

#### EDITORIAL NOTES.

"IF THIS convention fail to nominate a candidate," declared Senator Butler, in urging the Fusionists at Sioux Falls to name a candidate for Vice-President, "the party will die."

**The Sioux Falls Convention and the Nomination of Towne.**

That is, the fusion wing of the Peoples party that has no excuse for existence as a party separate and distinct, save it act as a stepping stone by which to reach office, would die. Let it give up asserting a right to name any part of the

Democratic tickets, resolve to swallow in toto whatever tickets the Democrats might name, and it might as well go out of business. So felt the Fusionists at the Sioux Falls convention who insisted on making a nomination for Vice-President. And led

by Senator Butler declaring that if they failed to nominate a candidate, if they should leave everything to the Democracy, their party would die, they did nominate a candidate. But the candidate they nominated—Towne, of Minnesota—scarce has a show of being nominated by the Democrats at Kansas City. If not he will get himself out of the way, withdraw in favor of the Democrat who may there be named, he has said as much, then the Fusionist-Populist party will be without a candidate, and then, if we apply the reasoning of Senator Butler, accept his assertion that the party must have a candidate or die, we may expect its early demise. And to Senator Butler's reasoning there is sound foundation. Ere this campaign is over we expect to see the disappearance of the fusion wing of the Peoples party as a party with an organization separate and distinct from that of the Democracy.

EX-CONGRESSMAN TOWNE, named by the Sioux Falls convention for Vice-President, is a man of brilliant parts, a silver, or, by the new name by which he prefers to be known, a Lincoln Republican in party nomenclature, but the Democrats want none of him. The avowed silver Democrats, who like the kind of fusion on Presidential ticket that gives them Populist votes while they keep the naming of both candidates, are not pleased by his nomination. They do not want him from the very fact that the Sioux Falls convention of Fusionists has named him and so presumed to dictate to them. For them, as Democrats, to take him after such naming as a candidate would be beneath their dignity. They do not want him from the fact that he is a silver Republican. They will have none of him; they will have a Democrat at the tail of their ticket as well as at its head. We are told that the Democratic politicians of the South are especially insistent as to this. There is no reasonable room for doubt that Towne will be refused the Vice-Presidential nomination by the Democrats at Kansas City. The Fusionist wing of the Peoples party left out in the cold will die; our misguided brethren who have attached themselves to that organization, but are Populists at heart, will come running to our party, return to the fold. As to Bryan, we suppose if he is nominated by the Democrats, which we much doubt, he will take the Sioux Falls nomination without thanks, not deign to write an acceptance thereof.

FROM Omaha it is reported that Mr. Bryan's friends went to Sioux Falls with three distinct plans in mind. Plan one was to refer the nomination of Vice-President to a committee for conference with similar committees from the Democratic and Silver Republican conventions with power to appoint. Plan two was to select several names for submission to the Democrats; plan three was to nominate some man who would withdraw from the Populist ticket if the Kansas City convention declined to endorse him. It is felt that Towne fills this latter bill.

That these plans were preferred by Mr. Bryan in the order given is explicitly asserted. Senator Allen fought hard for the

first plan and in so doing got himself at loggerheads with Senator Butler, who was thinking more of what effect action of the convention would have on the life of the party than of what effect it would have on the chances of Bryan. In Nebraska, Senator Allen's chances were tied up with Mr. Bryan's, but not so Senator Butler's chances in North Carolina. Indeed, Senator Butler's only hope of re-election to the Senate is in fighting against not with the Democracy of his state. So Senator Allen did not care much if the party organization of the Fusion Populists should, by any act of the Sioux Falls convention, be weakened and caused to disappear into the Democracy, but Senator Butler did. Indeed, Senator Allen was quite ready for such act if it would help Mr. Bryan, for that which would help Bryan would help him, but Senator Butler was not.

So these two great fusion leaders fell to fighting. Senator Butler demanded that the convention having nominated Bryan for President, should nominate a Vice-President. Senator Allen opposed such action, declaring that the Populists had made fools of themselves four years ago, that is in nominating other than the choice of the Democrats for Vice-President, and that the Sioux Falls convention should not repeat such blunder. In the test of strength before the convention on this question, Allen was beaten, yet in the naming of Towne as Vice Presidential candidate, a candidate whom it is now well understood will stand aside if the Kansas City convention declines to indorse him, it seems that Allen, after all, got off with the meat of victory. When beaten in his efforts to prevent the making of any nomination, Allen worked for the nomination of Towne.

THIS Sioux Falls convention adopted a platform much longer than that adopted by the Populists at Cincinnati on the same day but in which the chief demands were, in essence, much the same. This has caused some to ask what reason there was for these two conventions thus declaring for similar purposes to name two different tickets. The radical difference between the two conventions was that the Sioux Falls convention contented itself with declaring its purposes and then declared for fusion with a Democracy that opposes the carrying out of those purposes, while the Cincinnati convention declaring its purposes named a ticket that stands for the carrying out of those purposes. The difference between the two conventions was that one gave the lie to its declarations by its deeds, that the other lived up to that which it professed; that the one was pervaded with a spirit of hypocrisy, the other of honesty.

THE Supreme Court has just handed down a decision upholding the constitutionality of the national inheritance tax. And in so doing it has affirmed, first, that Congress has the power under the Constitution to impose a tax on inheritances, second, the right to impose graduated taxes. For the law in question laid heavier taxes on large inheritances than on small, indeed, exempted all inheritances of less than \$10,000, and taxed larger inheritances at a progressive rate. And this progressive graduated taxation of inheritances, this law under which the rate of taxation rises progressively with the size of the inheritance, so that the tax on succession to an inheritance of a million is a greater percentage than the tax on the inheritance of \$10,000, has been declared constitutional. This feature of the law was assailed on the ground that it was in controversion of the requirement of the Constitution that all taxes be uniform. But, said the court, this word "uniform" must be read in connection with the words that follow: "Uniform throughout the United States," and

thus used, and interpreted as used, it was obvious that the meaning of "uniform" in the Constitution was that all tax laws passed by Congress should be equally applicable to all parts of the United States, not that men of wealth should not be taxed proportionately more than men of moderate means or in poor circumstances. At first glance an inheritance tax would seem to be a direct tax and if so regarded an inheritance tax passed by Congress would of necessity be held to be unconstitutional as the income tax. For the Constitution practically forbids Congress to impose direct taxes directly, it declaring that all such taxes must be apportioned among the states according to population. But in the law an inheritance tax is regarded as a tax levied on the right to succession to property not as a tax on the property itself.

THOUGH the Nicaragua Canal bill passed by the House has been reported to the Senate, with Senator Hanna alone voting in committee in opposition to reporting it at this time, it is quite certain that it will be shelved for the balance of this session. For the Senate is at present in the humor of putting off not taking on work. It is looking forward to early adjournment, that is the Republican managers are, and shaping things accordingly. Even Senator Hanna's pet measure, the Ship-subsidy bill, has been shelved for the session. It is chiefly to consideration of the appropriation bills that it gives up its time. These passed, Congress will promptly adjourn. The naval appropriation bill, and this awak-

#### **The Armor Plate Question.**

ened wide discussion over the armor plate question, has just been passed by the Senate. As passed it authorizes the Secretary of the Navy to contract for armor plate at the price of \$445 a ton for all the armored ships, building or authorized. This is a price \$100 below what the armor plate mills have been demanding. If they refuse to sell armor at \$445 a ton the Secretary of the Navy is authorized to pay the armor plate trust price, \$545 a ton, for the armor needed for the three battle-ships nearing completion and directed to proceed to the erection of a government armor plate plant for which \$4,000,000 is appropriated, one-half of said sum being made immediately available. Senators Chandler and Tillman, who have investigated the armor plate question deeply and are firmly convinced the manufacturers could realize a fair profit on plate if selling at \$300 a ton, strove hard, but without avail, to have the maxim price the Secretary of the Navy is authorized to pay for armor fixed at a lower figure than \$445 a ton. As the matter now stands, or as it will stand when the House accepts the Senate proposition, which it doubtless will, the armor plate manufacturers must knock a hundred dollars a ton off their price or see the United States go into the business of manufacturing its own armor plate.

PASSING from the question of the armor plate trust and from a national to a local field we would direct attention to a recent bit of trust activity in New York. There it is an ice trust that has sprung into prominence forcing up the price of ice. Great was the hue and cry raised and men, mark it, turned to the idea of establishing municipal ice factories as the one alone offering them effective and permanent relief from the exactions of the trust. Comptroller Coler promptly announced himself as favorable to such idea and likely this idea, this departure, would have taken head, and found approval in conservative quarters, if the trust had not weakened to the public's demands. When even conservative New York talks of the erection of municipal ice plants to rid herself of the power, the exactions of the ice trust, we can surely say: The world do move.

IT IS easy to be blind to one's own transgressions, easy to see faults in others which we fail to see in ourselves. Says the plat-

#### **Cross-Interests of Allen and Butler.**

#### **Caused these two Fusion Statesmen to Fall to Fighting.**

#### **Sioux Falls and Cincinnati—The Difference.**

#### **The Supreme Court Upholds the Principle of a Graduated Inheritance Tax.**

#### **The Turning of Men to Public Ownership as the Trust Antidote.**



form adopted by the Republicans of Massachusetts; the Republican party believes that to abandon the Philippines "to local anarchy or to the lust of the invader would be cowardly and dishonorable." And mayhap it would. But what have we already abandoned the Philippines to? Is it not to the lust of the invader and are not we that invader? Might we see ourselves as we see others. Again we read "the highest dictates of duty require us to take the people of the Philippines under our protection, to suppress disorder and violence." Yet after peace was made with Spain there was no disorder and violence in the Philippines till we made it. There was no disorder to suppress until we upset the native government, dispersed the native forces that were keeping order.

One more argument for the selection of United States Senators by direct vote of the people! Senator Clark of Montana, takes a seat in the Senate under clouded title. He was duly elected by the Legislature of his own state but was charged with having purchased that Legislature. His case is investigated and by unanimous vote of the Senate Committee on Privileges and Elections his seat is declared to have been won by wholesale corruption. Whether or no the Senator was mixed up in that corruption personally the committee did not deem it necessary to express an opinion. For his title to a seat was vitiated by the fact that it rested on corruption. The Senate about to act on this report, Senator Clark rises, says he has sent his resignation to the Governor of Montana, bids farewell to the Senate, to the friends he has made. And then it turns up, scarce he has uttered these words, that the Lieutenant-Governor of Montana, acting as Governor, had on the receipt of Senator Clark's resignation promptly appointed Clark to the seat he had resigned, the seat from which he would have been ejected by vote of the Senate if he had not resigned. Thus may the people be defied.

#### Reduced Rates to Wilkesbarre, Account Knights Templar of Pennsylvania.

For Parade Day, (May 22) of the Knights Templar of Pennsylvania Forty-seventh Annual Conclave, at Wilkesbarre, Pa., May 21 to 23, 1900, the Pennsylvania Railroad will sell round trip tickets from all stations in Pennsylvania to Wilkesbarre and return May 21 and 22, limited to return until May 23 inclusive, at the rate of one limited first-class fare for the round trip (minimum of twenty-five cents). Tickets will not be good for passage on New York and Chicago Limited Express, and are good for continuous passage only in each direction.—*Adv.*

#### Gettysburg, Luray, Washington. Personally-Conducted tour via Pennsylvania Railroad.

Over the battlefield of Gettysburg, through the picturesque Blue Mountains, via Hagerstown and Antietam, and down the beautiful and historic Shenandoah Valley to the unique Caverns of Luray; thence across the rolling hills of Northern Virginia to Washington, is the route of this tour—a section of the country intensely interesting from both a historic and a scenic standpoint.

The tour will leave New York 8.00 A. M., and Philadelphia 12.20 P. M., Tuesday, May 29, in charge of one of the company's tourist agents, and will cover a period of five days. An experienced chaperon, whose especial charge will be unescorted ladies, will accompany the trip throughout. Round-trip tickets, covering transportation, carriage drives, and hotel accommodations, will be sold at the *extremely low rate* of \$25 from New York, \$24 from Trenton, \$22 from Philadelphia, and proportionate rates from other points.

For itineraries and full information apply to ticket agents; Tourist Agent, 1196 Broadway, New York; 4 Court Street, Brooklyn; 789 Broad Street, Newark, N. J.; or address George W. Boyd, Assistant General Passenger Agent, Broad Street Station, Philadelphia.—*Adv.*

## Wharton Barker For President, For Vice-President Ignatius Donnelly

THE NOMINEES OF THE PEOPLES PARTY.

### The Full Story of the Cincinnati Convention.—The Naming of Candidates and the Making of the Platform.

#### THE CONVENTION SYSTEM ABOLISHED.

Jo A. Parker, of Kentucky, Chosen National Chairman.

THURSDAY, May 10th, at 4.40 P. M., the Peoples Party National Convention assembled in Cincinnati pursuant to call, having nominated Wharton Barker of Pennsylvania for President and Ignatius Donnelly of Minnesota for Vice-President, adopted a platform upon which they stand, rules for the organization and government of the party, and chosen Jo A. Parker of Kentucky National Chairman, adjourned sine die. And therewith passed into history what was probably the last national convention the Peoples Party will ever hold, for by the rules of party organization adopted the convention system was abolished and the system of making nominations by direct vote of the people, under the rules of the initiative and referendum, declared inaugurated in its stead. Regenerated the Peoples party rises sphinx like from the ashes of the fusion pyre, untrammelled by tainting alliances with old parties that are parties to fraud and debauchery in our party politics, with its own grand principles of brotherhood kept ever in view as the one beacon light pointing the way to victory that never can be false, it goes forth again to do unceasing battle for the people, for the rights of man, until victory shall crown its efforts. And when it shall win it will be and continue to be a people's party, a party unpurchasable, for the convention in which a party may be sold through the purchase of its leaders will be no more, nominees will be named and policies dictated by direct vote of the people, then, without the corrupting of the people the party cannot be debauched and turned to the serving of other interests than those of the masses. And so will the party remain unpurchasable for the corrupting of the people is impossible.

United, enthusiastic, the Peoples party enters upon this campaign in which it is destined to play a great part, a campaign which many who attended the convention think will see its triumph, the exaltation of man above money, the emancipation of struggling humanity, the recognition in this fair land of the doctrine of brotherhood as a living force. With an earnestness unquestioned, with knowledge of their own probity, with a sublime faith in themselves and the justice of their cause, a sublime faith that gives and draws strength, Populists go forth to do battle with the inspiring conviction that taking the doctrine of brotherhood as their guiding rule they cannot go wrong, that they are following that which must lead them to victory, that through in the strife they may succumb the cause they fight for cannot suffer defeat, the light they follow not be crushed out. This is the thought that filled with courage and unconquerable hope the men and women who attended the Cincinnati convention, this is the pervading thought they carried to their homes.

#### Before the Convention.

As early as Sunday, May 7th, delegates to the National Convention, and also members of the Reform Press Association, which was called to meet on Monday but did not convene until the following day, began to drop into Cincinnati and from that time out until the close of the convention conferences looking to the nomination of such presidential ticket as would best further

the growth of the cause of Populism were incessant. At first there was much talk of nominating Eugene V. Debs, the nominee of the Social Democrats, for President, but consideration of his name was soon dropped as he was not regarded as a Populist. And here it may be stated that delegates to this convention were as a whole firm in their resolution upon two points, first to absolutely limit themselves in the choosing of candidates to those whose populism was unquestioned, whose advocacy of the tenets of populism was unswerving, who were true Populists; second, a resolution to choose from among such men the strongest candidate, the best vote getter. And so the name of Debs, as that of one proclaiming himself a Socialist and not a Populist, was early dropped from consideration. Mr. Debs, with the courage of his convictions and unwilling to compromise them in the slightest degree to gain a nomination he did not seek and did not want, further eliminated himself as a candidate before the Peoples Party Convention by writing to those who were disposed to push him for the nomination that he was not a candidate, that he could not accept a nomination if tendered, that the amalgamation of the Peoples Party and the Socialist Labor Party was in his estimation impracticable at this time, that the pressing of such a movement would work harm to each organization. The name of Kirby of Texas was mentioned in connection with the presidential nomination but finally the opposition to the naming or renaming of the ticket provisionally named in Cincinnati in September, 1898, centered around Ex-Congressman Howard of Alabama.

#### Meeting of the National Reform Press Association.

The National Reform Press Association assembled in the Wehrman Building on the morning of Tuesday, May 8th, about one hundred Populist editors, nearly all accredited delegates to the National Convention, being in attendance. In the absence of President Burkitt, who had been called to Texas by the death of a son-in-law, Vice-President Dixon called the meeting to order. At the request of the chair C. M. Walter, of Indiana, then read Capt. Burkitt's prepared address, which was well received and adopted as the address of the Association without a dissenting voice. After the transaction of some routine business, some discussion of propositions relative to the supplying of Populist papers with ready print matter that would breathe the spirit of true Populism, not of Bryan Democracy, and the appointment of a Committee on Resolutions, with J. M. Mallett, of Texas, as Chairman, the Association took a recess at 1.30 until 3 P. M.

#### Its Declaration of Faith.

Upon reassembling Chairman Mallett, of the Committee on Resolutions, reported the following:

"The National Reform Press Association, affirming its fidelity to the basic principles proclaimed in the Omaha platform, does recommend to the National Convention about to assemble in this city the adoption of a platform embodying the following propositions—propositions which we stand for:

"(1) The initiative and referendum, both in our system of government and in party management.

"(2) Honest Money, which is Paper Money.

"(3) The Nationalization of our Railroads.

"(4) Public Ownership of Public Franchises.

"(5) The Abolition of Private Trusts.

"(6) An elective judiciary of short tenure of office.

"(7) Compulsory Arbitration of Labor Disputes.

"(8) The Principle of Income Taxation.

"(9) Philippine Independence.

"Finally we stand, above all, for earnest and sincere devotion for the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man, in real spirit and truth, and in accordance with the great mandate: 'Seek ye first the Kingdom of God in His Righteousness.'"

#### And Discussion Thereof.

These resolutions, read thrice, C. M. Walter, of Indiana,

moved to strike out the ninth clause, not on the ground that Populists are opposed to granting the Filipinos independence or in favor of denying them the right of self-government, but because the question of the Philippines was being much harped upon by the old parties to distract the attention of the people from the reforms Populists urge, and was, therefore, one which Populists ought not to concern themselves with, but discard, as they had the tariff question. W. S. Morgan, of Arkansas, spoke in the same tenor, and with the consent of the Chairman of the Committee on Resolutions, the clause declaring that Populists stand for Philippine independence was dropped out—this though there is no question that Populists, as a whole, and almost without exception, are opposed to the holding of the Filipino people as a subject race. The resolutions were further amended by interjecting the word "Government" before Paper Money in proposition two, the word "Graduated" before Income Taxation in proposition eight, and then carried unanimously.

A committee to look into the question of supplying ready-print matter to Populist papers, and of a nature in accord with their character and purposes, was appointed, and the Association, concluding its sessions by electing officers to serve during the coming year, adjourned subject to call of the Executive Committee. Paul J. Dixon of Chillicothe, Missouri, was chosen President of the Association and C. M. Walter of Indianapolis, Vice President.

#### The National Convention.

About seven hundred delegates representing twenty-eight states and one territory were assembled in Robinson's Opera House when Chairman Deaver of the National Committee called the National Convention of the Peoples party to order at two o'clock on the afternoon of Wednesday, May 9th, an hour later than the appointed time. The opera house was attractively decorated with American flags while poles bearing card standards indicated the seats allotted to the delegations of the different states. It may here be said that though some states represented had not present the full delegations to which they were entitled under the call several were represented by more than their full quota, in which cases a fraction of a vote was accorded, by mutual consent, to each delegate. Three or four score of spectators viewed the proceedings of the convention from the galleries.

#### Mayor Tafel's Address of Welcome.

Chairman Deaver, upon calling the convention to order, announced the presence of Mayor Tafel of Cincinnati who would be pleased to deliver an address of welcome and presented him to the convention. A nattily dressed little gentleman, with a decided German accent in his voice, a voice considerably the worse for a cold, for which he apologized, came forward. He likened the position of the Populists to-day to that of the Abolitionists forty odd years ago—entitled to a hearing for their earnestness and loftiness of purpose—a purpose to uplift mankind, and whatever one might think of the specific measures they proposed, without taking time to express his own personal convictions concerning populism, he honored them. He welcomed such men to Cincinnati. Many older heads among the delegates could doubtless recall how the Abolitionists were ridiculed, persecuted, even prosecuted. Yet within an incredibly short time this party grew until it mustered the strength of the nation and scored a triumph. So it was with every great cause. It takes time and time alone for it to accomplish its mission. Again he welcomed such men and women as he saw before him to Cincinnati, for he recognized that with honesty of conviction and from the depth of their hearts they were working to better the condition of the people and such citizens, whatever one might think of their beliefs, were entitled to the profound respect and all sympathy of every lover of his country. The delegates felt that if there were more Mayor Tafels the cause of populism would be sooner won.

Prof. Boyce, somewhat of an orator from whom the conven-



tion had occasion to hear from later, a clean shaven Nebraskan of large physique, was called upon by Chairman Deaver to make the address in response to the Mayor's welcome and extend the thanks of the convention therefor. He took occasion to say that the one great tenet of Populism was the brotherhood of man, that all others resolved themselves around this.

**Chairman Deaver Addresses the Convention.**

Following Prof. Boyce Chairman Deaver addressed the convention briefly. He was pleased by the size and the representative character of the convention he saw before him. As he looked upon the convention he felt amply repaid for his work of the last few months. He referred to the meeting of the National Committee at Lincoln in February last, to the row that there took place which resulted in his naming as National Chairman in place of Senator Butler, a replacing not recognized by Senator Butler, and the calling of two conventions. But now he saw that his naming as National Chairman had been recognized by the men and women who make up the Peoples party, he saw it in the convention before him. He spoke of his work since assuming the position of National Chairman, a position unsought by him, of his part in working up the convention, of his efforts which he now saw crowned with success. But he did not magnify his own part in bringing about the convention which he felt would save the Peoples party. He took no special credit for himself. He was not so egotistical as to believe that if there had been no Clem Deaver there would have been no convention, a laying down before Butler, a dying of the Peoples party without protest. He knew that the convention he saw before him would have been assembled, not one whit less representative or less strong, if he had never existed. He declared that no one man could retard the progress of the movement of which the convention was but a part. If there had been no Clem Deaver other shoulders would have been found to do what he had done. He spoke of the assertions that his hand was in Hanna's barrel. If it were it would be but human nature for him to want to keep it there. But he refused unqualifiedly to serve longer as National Chairman. He wanted further to say that of the Populists whom he had asked and who had volunteered to aid him in working up the convention, there was not one who had asked him for a single penny. He went on to urge the convention before him to inaugurate the system of direct legislation in party management. If it failed to do so he feared that whatever the convention might do, whatever good resolutions it might come to, however firmly it might declare fusion to be a thing outlawed that two years would not pass before the party found itself again in the meshes of fusion, all the work of the past three years undone, for man is frail and he falls to temptation. Speaking of trusts and the old party proposals to get at the evil of trusts by regulating them he declared his belief that the regulation of anybody's business except your own is wrong in principle. All attempts at corporate regulation had proven to be a farce. He believed that when a business or trust in its national operation became a menace to the welfare of the people that the public should own such business or trust. Here Mr. Deaver struck a key note, struck again and again in the convention ever to meet response. Finally he asked the Populists assembled at Cincinnati to look with pity rather than hatred upon their misguided brethren who had gone to Sioux Falls.

**Followed by Jo A. Parker, Who Gets an Ovation.**

Mr. Deaver concluded by calling upon Jo A. Parker to read the call for the convention. Mr. Parker was given an ovation as he came forward. He prefaced the reading of the call with a few remarks. He too spoke of the split in the National Committee of the Peoples party that had taken place at the meeting in February at Lincoln, of the naming of D. Clem Deaver National Chairman in place of Senator Butler at a meeting of the committee, at which he asserted more than one-half of the regularly chosen national committeemen were represented. He

referred to Senator Allen's remark, made at Lincoln, in reference to those opposed to fusion with the Bryan Democracy, made as spokesman of the fusionists, and when they excluded those opposed to fusion from the committee meeting, his remark that "we've thrown them over the transom." And, added Parker, as he looked over the convention, "they may have thrown us over the transom at Lincoln, but they threw the Peoples party with us."

**Mr. Howard, Chosen Temporary Chairman, Addresses the Convention.**

As Parker resumed his seat, Chairman Deaver announced that the National Committee at a meeting the night before had resolved to recommend Milford W. Howard of Alabama for temporary chairman, and asked the pleasure of the convention. Thereupon Mr. Howard was nominated, chosen with an hurrah, and took the chair amidst much applause. Thanking the convention for the honor bestowed upon him, he declared a crisis had been reached in the history of the Peoples party. He said the platform of that party could be summed up in these few words: Peace on earth, good will to all mankind. "By your actions to-day," he continued, "you are to determine whether the party is to live for a glorious future, or to die an ignominious death. And, if I mistake not, that answer will be that the Peoples party was born to live and not to die." He went on to say that if the Peoples party would win the confidence and esteem of thinking men, it must adopt such a platform of principles as would appeal to the millions who are seeking for a solution of the great questions that confront us. And at the forefront of these questions stands the financial. He wanted to say that, in his opinion, one of the great mistakes of the party had been in accentuating the demand for free silver, when in fact it was but one of the minor reforms sought after, when behind and beyond this was the broader and greater question of paper money, issued not through the banks, but by the government itself.

He next spoke of the railroad question, declaring that so long as we maintain our present system of private ownership of railroads, the trusts will flourish, that as a nation we must take the railroads, that when we pass the railroads into the hands of the government we will deliver trusts one of the most effective blows possible. For when the government owned the railroads, the small shipper would be given the same rates as the large one.

Our telegraph system should also be operated by the government. In our treatment of the telegraph question, the question of how to secure equitable rates and unprejudiced service, we had lagged far behind all other civilized nations. Other nations had solved this question satisfactorily through government ownership. We stood alone in our backwardness. Mr. Howard declared that in other countries, where the governments had taken possession of the telegraph lines, tolls had been reduced by one-half, and we ought to profit by their example. He also spoke in favor of municipal ownership of municipal franchises, of street car lines, of electric lights, of gas and water works. He went on to speak of trusts. He declared that they were the natural outgrowth of our industrial development. Capital had learned to co-operate instead of compete—learned that co-operation was saving, competition waste. Labor should learn the same thing. To talk of controlling trusts by legislation, was sheerest nonsense. He believed that whenever any line of industry becomes a monopoly, there is only one solution possible, and that is for the government to control the monopoly and to use and operate it for the benefit of all the people. Finally he declared that most important of all issues was that of direct legislation. For that was the foundation of all reform. Without the initiative and referendum he did not believe that any of the reforms we sought could be carried through and put on our statute books. For in legislative halls where the people's representatives are ever subjected to temptation by the lobbyist, he feared plutocracy was stronger than the people. Speaking of the political situation, he declared that one thing was demanded

of the Peoples party, that it never again swerve to the right hand or to the left.

#### Committees Chosen—Donnelly Speaks.

Upon the conclusion of Mr. Howard's address, the temporary organization of the convention was completed by the choosing of J. C. Allen of Oklahoma, secretary, and Earl Richardson of Illinois, assistant secretary. Immediately thereafter the roll of states was called for the appointment of members to serve on the Committee of Credentials, and then again for the selection of committees on Permanent Organization, Platform, Rules and Order of Business, and Plan of Party Organization, each state delegation being entitled to appoint one member on each of these committees. These various committees selected, and a motion to take a recess to eight o'clock being voted down on the ground that many delegates had remarks to make, and this was as good a time to hear them as any, Ignatius Donnelly was called upon for a speech, and escorted, or rather dragged, to the platform, for he was literally lifted bodily over the footlights and so dragged on to the stage. Mr. Donnelly spoke for nearly an hour. His remarks were confined largely to the story of the growth of the Peoples party and its betrayal in 1896. He spoke in picturesque phrase. He pitched into Bryan unmercifully. He spoke of him as one who thought more of the ramshackle thing on the way to the political boneyard than he did of the salvation of the Republic. He had darts sharpened for Allen and Weaver and Butler. The convention enjoyed his speech.

#### And Convention Takes a Recess

Upon the conclusion of Mr. Donnelly's speech, there were calls for Barker, though his supporters for the nomination did not join in them; also for Waite of Colorado, and Osborne of Nebraska, with the result that there was some little confusion. But Barker rising from his seat with the Pennsylvania delegation, made himself heard, declared that it was time to go to business, moved a recess until eight o'clock that the committees might get down to work, the motion was put and carried, and at 4.20 o'clock the convention adjourned until eight.

#### The Evening Session of May 9th—Barker's Address.

When the convention reassembled it was announced that the Committee on Credentials had agreed upon a report, that it was being reduced to writing and would be ready for presentation in a few minutes. Pending this there were calls for Burkhart, the nominee of the Peoples Party of Indiana for Governor. Responding he said that this was a national convention, that there were men in it of national prominence whom the convention had a right to and wanted to hear and suggested that Wharton Barker of Pennsylvania be called. Upon motion of Mr. Donnelly, Mr. Barker was then invited to address the convention and he took the platform.

#### Talks of Some Phases of the Trust Question.

Mr. Barker said that he would not detain the convention by discussing questions or repeating thoughts that had been so ably presented by previous speakers, that he would not stop to dwell on the demand for the Initiative and Referendum which he might say in passing he regarded as the most important of all the Populist demands, that he would not touch upon the money question, but desired to direct attention to one or two phases of the trust question that he did not think had been sufficiently emphasized by those who had spoken before. He declared that trusts were of three kinds. First there were trusts that might be spoken of as natural trusts and were the product of our industrial evolution, trusts the outgrowth of efforts to avail of the savings and economies in production and distribution that concentration and combination make possible. These trusts, as natural as might be their growth, could not be expected to be superior to temptation and not being superior to temptation naturally fall to abusing their power. The only way to rid ourselves of the evil coming with these trusts was for the

Government to take the ownership and management of such into its own hands.

Then there were those trusts that are reared upon railroad rebates and can be dealt with by the Government taking over the railroads. Mr. Barker cited the Carnegie Company as a combination that had been reared upon rebates and was now ensconced behind them exacting tribute from the people. He recalled that recent differences among the partners in that combination had brought out the fact that the profits for last year were \$20,000,000 and that it was estimated that this year's profits would be \$40,000,000. He wanted to know if anyone thought the employees of the Carnegie Company got their just share of what their labor produced.

#### Charges the Interstate Commerce Commission with Conniving at Crime.

Mr. Barker charged that this practice of giving rebates was well known to and winked at by our Interstate Commerce Commissioners, that even when they had evidence sufficient to convict they refused to prosecute. Mr. Barker spoke plainly. He said that not long since information came to him that there was evidence in the hands of the Commission connecting a certain railroad and a certain shipper with the giving and receiving of rebates in the shipment of grain, rebates of that character that make it impossible for shippers to whom such rebates are not open to do business in competition with those to whom they are, rebates such as have centered the control of the grain trade of the country in a few hands. Mr. Barker wrote to one of the commissioners, Prouty, asking if this information that had come to him was correct. And said commissioner answered that it was, that the Commission had the evidence that it deemed sufficient to convict, but that it was well known that this case of granting rebates, unlawful as it was, was no isolated case, that it was notorious that all railroads were guilty, that in such case the Commission felt it would work injustice to prosecute, that is to say because it could not punish all of the criminals it would not punish one, that the railroad caught had promised to be good, that the Commission had therefore thought it wise not to push this case.

#### The Lesson of a Picture Gallery.

Thirdly, Mr. Barker spoke of those monopolies resting on municipal franchises. Upon the private ownership of such franchises many great fortunes had been reared. And no wonder, for possession of such franchises confers the power to tax. He instanced the case of the Elkins-Widener syndicate. He said that within a mile and a half from where he lived was a palace lately erected by Mr. Widener in which there was a picture gallery said to contain pictures that had cost \$2,400,000. It had been his pleasure to go through that gallery not long since. He did not decry the expenditure of money in the collection of those art treasures as a waste of wealth. He believed in the expenditure of money for art, for picture galleries, for anything that would elevate the thought. It was not a waste. But he could not help thinking that that picture gallery ought to be the people's picture gallery. For it was paid for by the people's money, by money taxed from the people just as much as if the city had taxed it. Managing to get control of street railway franchises Mr. Widener had gotten from the city the power to levy upon the people who must ride an indirect tax; levying such tax he accumulated a fortune out of which he had created a princely picture gallery. But the city should never have given away that power to tax, it should have kept that power to itself, and if it had the picture gallery that is now the property of one citizen might have been the property of all. And in getting it they would have been no more burdened, no more heavily taxed than they have been to create the gallery which is not theirs.

#### Gives His Views on the Philippines and Trade Expansion.

Mr. Barker then went on to touch on a topic that some Pop-



ulists seem disposed to taboo. He spoke of the Philippine question. He had marked, with regret, certain remarks that he had heard made before the Reform Press Association on the previous day, remarks to the effect that Populists ought not to declare in favor of Philippine independence because the Democrats had. He thought it was an unworthy reason. For his part he cared not whether a policy was Republican policy or Democratic policy or Populist policy, if it was right. The Peoples party could not afford to turn its back on anything which was right merely because the Democratic or Republican party might stand for that thing. Anything that was right the Peoples party could afford to stand for—aye, it could not afford not to stand for it. The one question with him in advocating any policy was is it right? And if right he dared be for it. He dared not be against it. So was he opposed to the doctrine of holding the Filipino people as a subject race, and he would not cease his opposition because the Democratic party might happen to stand in opposition to that policy.

He went on to speak of the taking of the Philippines as a stepping stone from which to reach out for the trade of China. This was the prime reason advanced by responsible Republicans for taking the Philippines. It had been asserted that the productive power of our people had outrun their consuming capacity; that we must find foreign markets for a great part of the products of our mills or else those mills be idle for half the year. He ridiculed the idea—the idea that our country was developed—that the wants of our people were filled, that their consuming power was incapable of expansion. Secure to them a just distribution of that which their labor may produce; give to each man the fruits of his toil of muscle and of brain and the consuming power of our people would expand indefinitely, expand just as fast as their power to produce. Above all, he ridiculed the idea of finding in China the outlet for the growing product of our mills, which it is said our own people cannot consume. He spoke of China as a country where money had been made wofully dear and man cheap. He pointed out that if we sell to China we have got to take payment in something; that China must pay in what she has to sell, and would pay in things produced by her cheap labor which she would sell in our markets in competition with goods produced by American labor. Result: a forcing down of wages and it is not trade that would bring such result that it beehoooves us to encourage. He favored trade expansion, but it is trade along natural lines, along the meridians of longitude, not the parallels of latitude, that he would promote. To this end he would go so far as to urge a customs union of all the Americas, an American Zollverein, that would establish absolute free trade between the nations of this hemisphere. He was opposed to a British alliance, opposed to this country taking for its own the commercial ideals of the British government. He believed in the upholding of the letter and spirit of the Monroe doctrine.

#### Report of Committee on Credentials and Fight over the Kansas Vote.

On the conclusion of Mr. Barker's address Mr. Cherry, of Arkansas, read the report of the Committee on Credentials, of which he was Chairman. It recommended that where states were represented by a lesser number of delegates than they were entitled to under the call, but by delegates chosen to represent the states, in many instances with instructions to cast the full vote of their states, that such lesser number of delegates should be permitted to cast the full vote for their respective states. It further recommended that Kansas, which was represented by but one delegate chosen in a congressional district convention, not in state convention, chosen along with a second delegate who was not in attendance, should be accorded two votes, and that states represented by proxy only should be accorded no vote. On the submission of this report, which was unanimous, Mr. Parker, of Kentucky, jumped up to inquire why Kansas had been accorded

but two votes out of the 86 she was entitled to under the call, when other states not fully represented had been accorded their full vote. Chairman Cherry responded by reading the credentials submitted by R. M. Chenault, the Kansas delegate, credentials showing that he represented a Congressional district, not the State. Mr. Parker, pronouncing an encomium over the Kansas delegate who had the courage to stand up for straight Populism in the hot-bed of fusion, thought, however, that such delegate should be allowed to cast the 86 votes. His courage should be rewarded. Others protested that his courage could not be so rewarded without doing injustice to the Populists of other States. Missourians who were fully represented wanted to know what justice there would be in letting this lone Kansan, claiming to represent but one Congressional district, not the State, out-vote them three times over. Chenault was heard in his own behalf and made no claim, declaring that he would be content with whatever votes the Convention should deem it just to give him; that he asked for nothing, that he would cast the votes that should be accorded him for Howard, of Alabama. Dr. Crowe, of Alabama, suggested that as Chenault represented but one Congressional district of Kansas, not the State; as the State was entitled to eight Congressmen and under the call to 86 votes in Convention, it would be a fair compromise to accord to him one-eighth of the votes to which his State was entitled, and moved, as an amendment to the report of the Committee on Credentials, that he be accorded eleven votes. Such motion was not acceptable to Parker and the supporters of Howard, some bitter personalities were indulged in, and when finally put the motion was lost, on a call of States, by the vote of 342 to 321. A motion to give to the Kansan 86 votes was then put and carried by a vote of 383 to 281, Minnesota giving her 48 votes for the motion and reversing her position of the previous roll call. As thus amended the report of the Committee on Credentials was adopted.

#### Peek of Georgia Elected Chairman.

Taking up and adopting the report of the Committee on Rules and Order of Business which provided that the Convention should meet at 8 A. M. on the morning of the 10th and remain in continuous session without recess of more than thirty minutes until its work had been completed, the report of the Committee on Permanent Organization, recommending Col. William L. Peek of Georgia for Chairman, and Ex-Governor Waite of Colorado for Vice-Chairman was presented. A motion to amend by substituting the name of Judge Samuel L. Williams of Indiana for that of Col. Peek was promptly made and voted down, 394 to 367, Texas, a Howard state, but out of respect for the Georgian, dividing her vote on this roll call. Col. Peek conducted to the chair and the Permanent Organization perfected by continuing as Permanent Secretaries those who had acted in that capacity during the Temporary Organization, the Convention, at 11.15 P. M., adjourned until 8 A. M., Thursday, May 10th, with much heat.

#### The Session of May 10th Opens With a Reconsideration of the Kansas Vote.

Assembling on the morning of the 10th, Chenault of Kansas dispelled the darkening storm clouds by getting the ear of the Chairman and moving that the vote of Kansas be cut down to eleven, which was promptly done, while delegates who had said unkind things of Kansas and her delegate in the heat of the debate of the night before apologized and good feeling was restored in the Convention. Ferris of Illinois followed up the motion of Chenault of Kansas by moving that all States be put on the same level which was quite indefinite as there was no state on just the same level as Kansas, and he was asked to specify. He named Maryland, which by the way had no representation in the Convention and had no vote at all, but which point was not made, and his motion was tabled after Prof. Boyce of Nebraska had spoken against it.

### Report of the Committee on Plan of Party Organization.

The report of the Committee on Plan of Party Organization, Zabel of Michigan, Chairman, was then presented and after short discussion, and some futile efforts to amend, adopted as reported. It provides for the abolition of the convention system and rules for the management of the party under the system of direct legislation. We will publish the plan in full in a subsequent issue.

### The Platform.

Following the adoption of this report Col. J. S. Felters of Illinois read the platform as recommended by the Platform Committee. It is as follows:

"The Peoples party of the United States, assembled in National Convention, this 10th day of May, 1900, affirming our unshaken belief in the cardinal tenets of the Peoples party, as set forth in the Omaha platform, and pledging ourselves anew to continued advocacy of those grand principles of human liberty until right shall triumph over might, love over greed, do adopt and proclaim this declaration of faith:

"First. We demand the initiative and referendum and the imperative mandate and such changes of existing fundamental and statute law as will enable the people in their sovereign capacity to propose and compel the enactment of such laws as they desire; to reject such as they deem injurious to their interests, and to recall unfaithful public servants.

"Second. We demand the public ownership and operation of those means of communications, transportation and production which the people may elect, such as railroads, telegraphs and telephone lines, coal mines, etc.

"Third. The land, including all natural sources of wealth, is a heritage of the people, and should not be monopolized for speculative purposes, and alien ownership of land should be prohibited. All land now held by railroads and other corporations in excess of their actual needs, and all lands now owned by aliens should be reclaimed by the Government and held for actual settlers only.

"Fourth. A scientific and absolute paper money, based upon the entire wealth and population of the nation not redeemable in any specific commodity, but made a full legal tender for all debts and receivable for all taxes and public dues and issued by the Government only, without the intervention of banks, and in sufficient quantity to meet the demands of commerce, is the best currency that can be devised; but until such a financial system is secured which we shall press for adoption we favor the free and unlimited coinage of both silver and gold at the legal ratio of 16 to 1.

"Fifth. We demand the levy and collection of a graduated tax on incomes and inheritances and a constitutional amendment to secure the same if necessary.

"Sixth. We demand the election of President, Vice-President, Federal Judges and United States Senators by direct vote of the people.

Upon the completion of the reading of this report Jo A. Parker, of Kentucky, moved its amendment by adding to the platform a seventh clause, which, after some discussion, revolving around the question as to whether or not the substance of such clause was already in the platform, was adopted and is as follows:

"Seventh. We are opposed to trusts, and declare the contention between the old parties on the monopoly question is a sham battle, and that no solution of this mighty problem is possible without the adoption of the principles of public ownership of public utilities."

Osborne, of Nebraska, then moved to strike out the words favoring the free coinage of gold and silver at the ratio of 1 to 16 as a temporary measure, but his motion was laid on the table by the decisive vote of 530 to 82, and the platform, as above given, adopted. Dodge, of Delaware, demanded that the convention should make an addition to the platform declaring "for the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man," which motion was ruled out of order as being offered too late, while delegates remarked that everyone knew that that was the basic principle of the Populist party and its addition to the platform needless.

### The Naming of Candidates for President—Nebraska Presents Howard's Name.

The naming of a Presidential ticket was the next business in order, and pending the call of the roll of States for the making of nominations, Boyce, of Nebraska, offered a resolution pledging delegates to support the nominees. Such resolution was protested against by delegates from all quarters, not that they had any intention other than to support the nominees of the convention, all who rose to speak in opposition protested that such was their intention, but because such resolution smacked of old partyism and bossism, and it was withdrawn.

The roll call was then proceeded with. Alabama, united on Barker, but with kindly feeling for Howard, asked to be passed to the foot of the roll. Colorado yielded to Nebraska, and Prof. Boyce, of that State, took the platform to nominate Howard, of Alabama. He declared that the People's party was without great daily papers, that it must reach the public through the columns of Republican and Democratic papers, that such papers would be bound to print the speeches of such a man as Howard as he toured through the country, that a candidate who was an orator who could enthuse the people, draw large audiences and so command space in the columns of the opposition papers was needed, that Howard was such a man, an orator the peer of Bryan, a man who had always been true to Populism, who had never swerved.

### General Phillips of Georgia Names Barker.

Delaware gave her time to Georgia, and when Georgia was called, General Phillips, who served in the confederate army as commander of the Georgia Legion, seventy-five years old but not yet gray, esteemed for his courage to his convictions as unfaltering to-day as forty years ago, a man six feet in height, carrying well his years, arose. He spoke from his place on the floor. He was fighting for the cause of Populism, not for himself, for life had little in store for him, but for his grandchildren. He wanted to bequeath to them a free heritage of equal opportunities. It was for them and others fixed as they, that he struggled for Populism and stood before the convention. He spoke fervently. He recalled the history of the Georgia "crackers," who, when driven from their homes by King George's soldiers, dreamt not of surrender but went to the woods, who had but words of defiance, of determination for the British emissaries sent to treat for their submission. You have no shelter for your families, argued such emissaries. None but the spreading limbs of the live oak and the blue canopy of Heaven, was the response. While these do not forsake us we shall not surrender. You have nought left for your sustenance, you have no food! None but cracked corn and while we have this there shall be no surrender. Hence the name of crackers, and when the determination of these crackers was told in the British Parliament, their story told, men of dogged British determination gave up the struggle as hopeless. And from such crackers were Georgia Populists descended. Of the same stuff were they made. General Phillips gloried in the name of cracker. He came to carry out the instructions of the Populists of Georgia and present the name of Wharton Barker as Georgia's choice. In an hour of darkness he had come to them, in their hour of despondency he had given them hope. From the hour that he was named at Cincinnati in September, 1898, and held aloft the banner of Populism with the promise that it would be kept there, the cause of Populism had gathered new strength in Georgia. Now give Georgia the candidate for President of her choice and this fall the Populists of Georgia would carry their state. Men said to the detraction of Wharton Barker as a candidate that he came from what was not a Populist state. He wanted to say that in that very state the first seeds of Populism were sown in America. It was William Penn himself and the Quakers of his colony who sowed those seeds. And Wharton Barker was of that stock. By heritage he came by Populism.



He had had the experience of life that gave him an understanding, an inner insight into the ways and practices of the moneyed cliques that few willing to serve the people could possess. He was the Moses to lead the people out of thralldom. He was Georgia's choice.

#### Judge Williams of Indiana Presents the Name of Donnelly.

Illinois called, yielded to Indiana, and Judge Samuel W. Williams of Indiana took the platform. He said he had been pleased to note that when Howard, a Southern man, had been named, it was a Northern state, Nebraska, that had felt honored to present his name, that it was Georgia, a Southern state, that had claimed the privilege of nominating Wharton Barker, a citizen of Pennsylvania, a Northern man. He praised Howard as a fit candidate, Barker as equally fit, but he had a fitter to present, also a child of the state of William Penn—Ignatius Donnelly, now of the state of Minnesota.

#### Seconding the Nominations.

Weller of Iowa seconded the nomination of Barker, declaring that it was from Republican ranks that the Populists had got to recruit, and declaring that Barker, as just the man to win those recruits, was by far the strongest candidate the Populists could name. Ricker, of the same state, a supporter of Debs, sitting in the convention as a spectator rather than as delegate, for though elected as a delegate he had resolved to support Debs and did not feel that he could honorably vote in such convention, arose to make this personal explanation, to pay a tribute to Wharton Barker, to announce that the Iowa Populists stood virtually pledged to Barker and that he would not stand in their way of casting the full vote of the state for him. Chenault of Kansas seconded the nomination of Howard, as did Parker of Kentucky, who took occasion to say that he had nothing to urge against the nomination of Barker only that he felt there was a demand among the Populists for the nomination of Howard. Cherry of Arkansas, seconding the nomination of Barker, took occasion to link the name of Donnelly with that of Barker. He was for the naming of the old ticket. Several others took the same position in seconding the nomination of Barker. Zabel of Michigan spoke of Barker as one who had been nominated two years before, who had stood the test and come out with a clean record. Nominate Barker and Donnelly he said and we can be sure there will be no personal mud slinging. Rahilly of Minnesota seconded the nomination of Donnelly in an exhaustive type-written address. Brewer of Mississippi followed, seconding the nomination of Barker. "Why thrust upon the South a man she does not want?" he declared. Wright of Missouri seconding the nomination of Barker, asked if Minnesota was going to stultify herself by going back on the referendum vote which Minnesota Populists had taken and by which they had recorded themselves overwhelmingly in favor of the nomination of Wharton Barker. Webster of Nebraska and Waite of Colorado seconded the nomination of Howard. Streeter of New Jersey, as also Lloyd of New York spoke for Barker. Coughlin of Pennsylvania seconding the nomination of Barker, declared that he had heard Barker opposed on the ground that he was not an orator. He recalled that Moses was not an orator, that when he wanted to talk to his people he called upon Aaron. If he could judge from the flow of oratory he had heard the Populist party was not lacking in Aarons. Mullins of Tennessee followed, seconding the nomination of Barker, while Osborne of Washington or Nebraska concluded the presentation by doing the same for Howard.

#### Howard Withdraws—The Balloting.

Ex-Congressman Howard then stepped forward. He thanked those who had proffered him support. He said he realized the feeling of the lowly Nazarine for he had been made to realize that he was a Populist without honor in his own state. His own state had refused to support him. This being the case he declared he could not afford to take the nomination, he with-

drew his name. But his followers refused to take him at his word. The chairman of the Nebraska delegation announced that Nebraska would give her vote to Howard notwithstanding his withdrawal. Johnson of Alabama then got the ear of the chair. He said it had pained him, pained the Alabama delegation inexpressibly to have to ask that Alabama's name be passed to the foot of the role and as they had done. Alabama was not against Howard because it did not honor him, did not respect him, did not love him. It was for Barker because it had endorsed his nomination made two years before at Cincinnati; because it had made itself a party to such nomination; because Barker had shown himself true to Populism and worthy of their continued support, and this being so they felt in honor bound to support him. As for Howard, he was their candidate for United States Senator this very year. He was not without honor in his own home, but Alabamans felt it their duty to support Barker, to give him their votes in convention on higher grounds than those of personal preference, and that duty it would be their painful duty to perform.

#### Barker on the Second Ballot.

The balloting was then proceeded with, with the following result: Milford W. Howard, 326<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> votes; Wharton Barker, 314<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>; Ignatius Donnelly, 70; S. F. Norton, 3. Necessary for nomination 358; no choice. Immediately the taking of a second ballot was ordered, but before the roll began the convention was thrown into turmoil by Governor Waite of Colorado who, angered by the failure of the South to support Howard, had heatedly declared, in the hearing of Dr. Crowe, "Damn the South," which words Dr. Crowe at once repeated to the convention and which Waite, adding to them the above explanation, did not deny but affirmed. Weller of Iowa began to talk the convention into quiet, finally declaring that if the supporters of Howard did not want to place him in a false position they would not continue to vote for him. The roll call was then proceeded with, Judge Williams announcing that Donnelly had instructed him to withdraw his name, and Rahilly of Minnesota rushing to the platform to declare that he would not be bound by such withdrawal. Minnesota which on the first ballot had cast her solid vote for Donnelly withheld her vote to the last and then gave it to Barker and with it the nomination. Then, before the vote was announced, Howard came down the middle aisle and standing by the side of the Alabama delegation well to the fore, raising himself to his full height of 6 feet 5, moved that the nomination of Wharton Barker be made unanimous, which was done with a shout.

#### Donnelly by Acclamation.

Immediately thereafter Chenault of Kansas moved the nomination of Ignatius Donnelly of Minnesota for Vice President be made by acclamation, which was done, and at 1.30 the convention took a recess for 30 minutes.

Reassembling the roll of the states was called for the announcement of members of the National Committee, three from each state and territory. Then followed considerable fencing over the method to be adopted for the selection of a National Chairman. The convention finally decided to itself elect such chairman, not leave the choice to the National Committee, and Jo A. Parker of Kentucky was chosen, the convention adjourning sine die immediately thereafter. No word was said about changing the name of the party. A committee on notification consisting we believe of Howard of Alabama, Boyce of Nebraska, Mallett of Texas was appointed and requested to notify the candidates so that they might make formal response within thirty days. We shall be glad to welcome that committee in person, together or severally, but if they find it inconvenient to pay us an early visit we beg to assure them that our mails are not in the habit of going astray.

The vote for President on the two different ballots and by states was as follows:

## Ballot for President.

	First Ballot.				Second Ballot.			
	Barker	Howard	Donnelly	Norton	Barker	Howard	Donnelly	Norton
Alabama	62	...	...	...	62	...	...	...
Arkansas*	15	...	...	2	15	3	...	2
Colorado	...	41	...	...	...	41	...	...
Delaware	4	...	...	...	4	...	...	...
Florida	8	...	...	...	8	...	...	...
Georgia	52	...	...	...	52	...	...	...
Illinois	1	25	8	...	2	29	3	...
Indiana	8	3	7	1	11	6	2	...
Iowa	21	...	...	...	21	...	...	...
Kansas	...	11	...	...	...	11	...	...
Kentucky	1	15	...	...	4	10	2	...
Michigan	19	...	...	...	19	...	...	...
Minnesota	...	...	48	...	48	...	...	...
Mississippi	13	...	...	...	13	...	...	...
Missouri	25	...	...	...	25	...	...	...
Nebraska	...	46	...	...	...	46	...	...
Nevada	...	7	...	...	...	7	...	...
New Jersey	6	...	...	...	6	...	...	...
New York	13	...	...	...	13	...	...	...
Ohio	17 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	11 <sup>6</sup> / <sub>10</sub>	...	...	16	14	...	...
Oklahoma	6	...	6	...	6	6	...	...
Oregon	...	17	...	...	...	17	...	...
Pennsylvania	14	...	...	...	14	...	...	...
Tennessee	16	...	...	...	16	...	...	...
Texas	...	123	...	...	...	123	...	...
Virginia	10	...	...	...	10	...	...	...
Washington	...	17	...	...	...	17	...	...
West Virginia	3	2	1	...	5	1	...	...
Wyoming	...	8	...	...	...	8	...	...
	314 <sup>4</sup> / <sub>10</sub>	326 <sup>6</sup> / <sub>10</sub>	70	3	370	339	7	2

Total number of votes cast 714. Total number of votes cast 718.  
Necessary for choice 358. Necessary for choice 360.

\*Arkansas withheld 3 votes on first ballot with announcement that if Howard had not withdrawn they would have been cast for him.

## Health for Ten Cents.

Cascarets make the bowels and kidneys act naturally, destroy microbes, cure headache, biliousness and constipation. All druggists.—*Adv.*

## Philadelphia Horse Show at Wissahickon Heights.—Special Excursion tickets via Pennsylvania Railroad.

The ninth annual open-air exhibition of the Philadelphia Horse Show will be held on St. Martin's Green, Wissahickon Heights Station, Philadelphia, May 28 to June 2, inclusive.

The announcement of an exhibition under the auspices of this organization, which is composed of leading citizens of Philadelphia, is in itself an assurance of perfection. The prize list is liberal, and representatives of the best society of Philadelphia, New York, Baltimore, Washington, and other Eastern cities will enter their horses and equipages in the competition for the premiums.

The grounds, which are located immediately on the Germantown and Chestnut Hill Branch of the Pennsylvania Railroad, eleven miles from Broad Street Station, are ample for all purposes of the show, and the accommodations for visitors are complete.

The Pennsylvania Railroad will sell special excursion tickets, including coupon of admission, from New York, Philadelphia, Belvidere, Lancaster, Wilmington, West Chester, Phoenixville, and principle intermediate stations (as well as the Chestnut Hill Branch) to Wissahickon Heights Station, May 28 to June 2, good to return until June 4, 1900, inclusive.—*Adv.*

## Two Fast Trains Daily to Portland, Ore.

Via Chicago, Union Pacific and North-Western Line. "The Overland Limited" leaves 6:30 P. M., equipped with Pullman sleeping cars, tourist cars, free reclining chair cars, buffet library cars. All meals in dining cars. "Pacific Express" leaves 10:30 P. M. with similar equipment. No change of cars. Fastest time. Unequaled service. The best of everything. All agents sell tickets via Chicago & North-Western Railway, or address W. A. Cox, 601 Chestnut street, Philadelphia, Pa.—*Adv.*

## Reduced Rates to Washington, D. C., via Pennsylvania Railroad. Account of Imperial Council, Order of Mystic Shrine.

For the Imperial Council, Order of the Mystic Shrine, at Washington, D. C., May 22-24, the Pennsylvania Railroad will sell tickets to the general public, from all stations on its line, to Washington and return, at rate of one fare for the round trip. Tickets to be sold and good going May 19-21, returning to May 28, inclusive.—*Adv.*

## PENNSYLVANIA POPULISTS.

## To the Populists of Pennsylvania:

As Chairman of the Peoples Party State Committee, I address you with regard to offices to be voted for at the November elections and upon the selection of Presidential electors for Pennsylvania. The offices to be filled are:

Two Congressmen at Large.  
Congressmen from the 28 several Districts.  
Auditor General.  
State Senators from uneven numbered Districts.  
Members of State House of Representatives from all Districts.  
Thirty-two Presidential Electors.

In accordance with the action taken by our late National Convention at Cincinnati, May 9 and 10, establishing the principle of direct legislation in all party matters, and also to save unnecessary expense and valuable time, I ask Pennsylvania Populists to report to THE AMERICAN, which will take the vote, their preferences for the respective offices. The following names have been suggested to me as those of men well qualified for the several offices for which they are named, and I heartily approve their selection:

## FOR CONGRESSMEN AT LARGE.

Robert Brigham.....Franklin.....Venango County.  
George Main.....Susquehanna.....Susquehanna County.

## FOR AUDITOR GENERAL.

D. O. Coughlin.....Wilkesbarre.....Luzerne County.

## FOR PRESIDENTIAL ELECTORS.

A. S. Aiman.....Germantown.....Philadelphia County.  
G. P. Armstrong.....McEwensville.....Northumberland County.  
George T. Bateman.....Houtzdale.....Clearfield  
John J. Brady.....Philadelphia.....Philadelphia  
C. Brinton.....Pocopson.....Chester  
J. W. Campion.....Swarthmore.....Delaware  
C. C. Cooper.....Kelly Cross-Roads.....Union  
George W. Dawson.....Beaver.....Beaver  
W. C. Deakin.....Susquehanna.....Susquehanna  
W. E. Ewer.....Corry.....Erie  
E. N. Fairchild.....Sizerville.....Cameron  
D. H. Fisher.....Entriken.....Huntingdon  
F. A. Foreman.....Upton.....Franklin  
W. A. Gardner.....Andrew's Settlement.....Potter  
James H. Graybill.....Crenshaw.....Jefferson  
D. Hetrick.....Drab.....Blair  
W. C. Hill.....Maple Creek.....Forest  
Anselm B. Kirsch.....Nicktown.....Cambria  
Thomas S. Laird.....Nordmont.....Sullivan  
Dr. A. H. P. Leuf.....Philadelphia.....Philadelphia  
Abram L. Line.....Montsera.....Cumberland  
John H. Lorimer.....Philadelphia.....Philadelphia  
S. F. Lane.....Montrose.....Susquehanna  
Dr. O. G. Moore.....Knox.....Clarion  
E. Muzzy.....East Branch.....Warren  
A. C. Price.....Renfrew.....Butler  
H. C. Snavely.....Lebanon.....Lebanon  
Andrew Storry.....Pettis.....Crawford  
John Suckling.....Hollidaysburg.....Blair  
Harry Tyler.....Osceola.....Tioga  
J. A. Welsh.....New Castle.....Lawrence  
W. C. Wine.....Indiana.....Indiana

We should, I believe, as one step towards an effectual and effective organization of the Peoples Party of Pennsylvania, run full congressional, state and county tickets. Names for county offices and for those which are not voted for by the state at large need not be given, but I will thank you to name men for State Senate and Legislature in your respective districts.

Immediate action in the above matters is highly important, so that we may open the state campaign promptly and conduct it with all vigor along with that for our national ticket, Hon. Wharton Barker and Hon. Ignatius Donnelly. I therefore earnestly request that you will, one and all, act at once, by reporting to THE AMERICAN, which will take the referendum. Nomination papers will be made out in accordance with the vote received up to June 10th, and circulated immediately thereafter. If you approve the nominations above suggested, report simply: "I hereby cast my vote for men named." If others are preferred, give their names, addresses, and the offices for which you nominate them. Any number favoring the same nominations may sign on one ballot. Careful attention to these instructions will greatly simplify the counting of votes.

Very respectfully yours,  
R. A. THOMPSON, Chairman,  
Peoples Party State Committee, Indiana, Pa.



## BOOK REVIEWS.

## Dr. Coues' Last Historical Work.

*On the Trail of a Spanish Pioneer.* The Diary and Itinerary of FRANCISCO GARCÉS in his Travels through Sonora, Arizona, and California. 1775-1776. Translated and edited, with critical notes, by ELLIOTT COUES. 2 Vols. New York: Francis P. Harper. \$6 net.

Putting aside entirely those feelings of a personal nature, which, with all who knew Dr. Elliott Coues as a man as well as by his work, cannot fail to crowd upon the heart as they remember him, it is yet with mingled feelings of deep regret and unspeakable satisfaction that we look upon the volumes before us. And this as critic and not as friend or admirer, except as unalterable facts demand and merit commands. Thus must we feel profound regret that these volumes should end a work the importance and value of which will be acknowledged by students of future days as it is appreciated and recognized by those of the present; satisfaction that this much more has been added to what we previously had, for by just so much is the record extended and enriched.

Before going further, the present being Dr. Coues' final work, it will not be amiss to briefly review his chief works and to consider for which and upon what grounds his name will go down to posterity. As a scientist he ranked among the foremost of his time; in his special branch, ornithology, he for many years unquestionably stood first in America if not the world. Thus did Dr. Coues hold a distinct and largely unique position among those who have devoted their lives to science—a position fairly won and richly deserved. Yet, notwithstanding all this, we say unhesitatingly that Dr. Coues' work as scientist, important and extensive as it was, will be forgotten long before he is, that he will go down through time not as scientist, but as historian, for it is in this field, if we mistake not, that his enduring work was done. Science advances as the sum of human knowledge increases, and so the scientist of to-day is distanced by the one of to-morrow, becomes a back number, and, as the years pass, is gradually lost to view. His work is as that of the pioneer—necessary, big with and for the future, but ultimately superceded, while he himself is forgotten.

But the work Dr. Coues did as historian is of such a nature that it cannot be superceded; it is an actuality built upon unchangeable facts, and for this reason and because it will for all time form the groundwork of a certain great history, it is enduring. So, too, will Dr. Coues be remembered as the original historian of the early history of the West, remembered as the one who first rescued it from oblivion and put it in imperishable form, long after his scientific work shall have been pigeon-holed in dusty corners.

The work before us is the third and last of the "American Explorers' Series," which can properly be considered as a part of the larger series which Dr. Coues edited, beginning with the Lewis and Clark expedition (the first and in many other ways the leading work of them all) and comprising Zebulon Pike, the Henry-Thompson, and Fowler journals, and the Larpenteur narrative. But for the untimely intervention of death other titles would doubtless have been added to the series, for it was a characteristic of Dr. Coues to delve deeply and search closely, and it may, therefore, be safely assumed that he would have unearthed yet something more worthy of preservation. However, as it stands, the series is complete and a monument to the author-editor-historian of the pioneer days of the great West.

The earlier books are now practically unobtainable and readily command prices far above those at which they were published. This goes to attest the estimation in which they are held, and as all the later volumes have been similarly issued in limited editions, it may be expected that they, too, will command advanced prices when the publishers shall be no longer able to fill orders.

In working up this Garcés diary Dr. Coues has followed precisely the same method as in preceding works, though, assuming that it were possible, he seems to have taken an even greater interest in its subject matter. For our part we find the old missionary priest much the most lovable and admirable and in many ways the most interesting of the several characters to whom Dr. Coues has successively introduced us. About the very time the colonists were preparing to assert their independence from the mother country, Garcés was working his way here and there across the wastes of Arizona and Southern California with the double purpose of carrying the light of Christianity even into the deepest canyons, and of bringing new peoples and new country under the sceptre of the Spanish king. Of the geography, topography, history and people of this section Dr. Coues pos-

sessed an exceptionally thorough knowledge, having, as he tells us in the preface, "resided in Arizona at three widely separated intervals (1864-65, 1880-81, 1892), traveled over most of the territory, especially off the present lines of rails, and trailed nearly all of Garcés' routes, both in Arizona and California." Given this to start with, all in the least familiar with Dr. Coues' methods will be able to judge of the way in which he acquitted himself of the work of editing and annotating the Garcés diary, which he translated in the first place from an official contemporaneous copy of the original Spanish manuscript, now in the keeping of the Bureau of American Ethnology at Washington. Mr. F. W. Hodge, of the Bureau, has supplied numerous ethnological notes containing much interesting and valuable matter.

Returning to Dr. Coues' work, we are prompted to add, in conclusion, that for precision and painstaking attention to detail it partakes much of the characteristics of that of the ideal German student who stops at no effort to reach his goal—the ultimate and exact truth. Most assuredly Dr. Coues had, as he tells us, a "capacity for taking great pains with every detail of the work . . . in hand," and if the high development of this faculty has resulted in what many may consider an excessive minuteness, it should be remembered that in just this getting down to bed rock in every particular and at all points is to be found one of the prime reasons, if not the basic reason, why his historical-geographical work is so distinctly valuable. It is so thorough, so absolutely accurate and so entirely reliable that it is work done for all time, and as such makes a solid foundation from which to build up.

The mechanical get-up of these two volumes is in every way in accord with their contents. There are eighteen maps, views and fac-similes.

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## Hannibal Hamlin.

*The Life and Times of Hannibal Hamlin.* By his grandson, CHARLES EUGENE HAMLIN. New York: James Pott & Co. \$3.50 net.

A large tome of six hundred odd pages, this is a work which deserves a place as a more than ordinarily important contribution to the period of American history covered by the long and useful life of its subject. Hannibal Hamlin was unquestionably one of the great men who were developed by the slavery question and whose work was in the larger sense instrumental in bringing that institution to an end. When we turn to the history of the period of the Civil War it is easy and natural to overlook many men and many events, in themselves important, in viewing those far greater which so completely dominated the field as to entirely overshadow all else, at least in a casual view. It is only when we carefully take all things into consideration and sort out men and events that we can fairly appreciate the relative importance of each and see clearly how many men of the time were not only great, but directly and indirectly essential to the working out of the results which were obtained. When we so examine the field Hamlin stands forth as one of the half dozen leading spirits secondary to the great and central figure, as one of the first men of that soul-trying time. Therefore it is eminently right that posterity should have preserved to it in accessible form a life of him which shall give some adequate idea of the man, his work and position.

The author has done wisely in broadening his work to include a review of the chief events which occupied the public mind during the many years in which Hamlin took a more or less active and positive part in American affairs, for in this way he enables his readers to gain a far better and more complete comprehension of the man, his character, his capabilities, and above all the effectiveness and usefulness of his life work than if he had confined himself within the strict and narrower limits of the mere biography. Naturally and properly the author has a decided personal interest and pride in Hannibal Hamlin, his grandfather, and a man who stood so high in the estimation of his countrymen, but if, in compiling this biography, he has occasionally allowed feeling a little bit too free play, it has not been to an extent sufficient to impair the value and strength of the book.

It is impossible and needless for us to follow those events which occurred during the long, eventful and active public career of Mr. Hamlin, and which are traced in this volume. Of course "the rise and fall of the slave party in Maine, as well as in the nation" takes a leading place, not only because of its paramount importance but also because of the prominent part Mr. Hamlin took in the work of combating and overthrowing it. But while we pass all this and much more by without a word we venture to quote a sentence or two from a speech Hamlin made in 1846

on the Oregon question, then uppermost. This we do not with any desire to pick out a point upon which Mr. Hamlin's judgment was wrong, but because at the moment it is both interesting and germane to compare his unfulfilled predictions as to trade with the East, a trade then just opening, with those we hear now on the same subject. He said:

"We are already opening our markets in the East. We have already established our treaty stipulations with China. We have opened the Chinese market; and in opening that market, with the advance which commerce will give in that distant portion of the globe to civilization, to refinement, and to Christianity, we have opened a market which will call for untold millions of the manufactured articles of the Northern and Middle States—manufactured from the staple of the South."

The setting aside of Hamlin and the nomination of Johnson as Lincoln's running mate in 1864 has ever been a subject which has perplexed the student of American political history. There was no loss of confidence in Mr. Hamlin; he was in accord and complete harmony with the President and was eminently qualified, as experience had amply shown, for the duties that rested upon him as Vice-President. All this being so it must seem that it would have been the most natural thing in the world to have renominated him with Lincoln. To find a sufficient reason to explain why he was not has been very difficult, and it is not surprising that several causes have been advanced. It has even been hinted, if not asserted, by some who have claimed knowledge in the premises, that Lincoln himself deliberately dropped his friend that the ticket might be strengthened by putting a War Democrat on it. This, however, few have believed so far as Lincoln is concerned, but it has been very generally concluded that the anxiety that prevailed early in 1864, as to the outcome of the fall elections, and the consequent desire to strengthen the Republican party in every way possible was the real cause for side-tracking Hamlin and taking in his stead Johnson, a Southern Democrat, but known to be an ardent Union man.

In view of all this and the silence which Mr. Hamlin always maintained on the subject, the inside history of the nomination of Johnson as here recounted by Mr. Hamlin's grandson becomes doubly interesting, particularly so from the fact that it brings out some things which have not been known or, at most, known to a very few. This "is done with reluctance" and as much to refute the insinuation that Lincoln desired and effected Hamlin's defeat for renomination as to show the latter's position in the whole affair. From what the author says it appears that Johnson's nomination came about as the indirect result of a plan laid by Charles Sumner, whose object was to strike a blow at his colleague, Senator W. P. Fessenden, and force Seward out of the Cabinet. Although there was plenty of evidence of opposition to the old ticket, this scheme was unknown to both Lincoln and Hamlin, and his friends, until the eve of the assembling of the convention, and was not finally disclosed until the night before the day the ballot was taken. The plan had been to nominate Dickinson for Vice-President, but this Seward's friends defeated by voting for Johnson. But despite the opposition to Hamlin, when it came to a vote in the convention it is most likely that he would still have been renominated but for the action of Governor W. M. Stone, of Iowa, who arbitrarily and falsely announced the Iowa votes as all for Johnson.

The evidence the author adduces, supported by a statement from John C. Nicholay, given in full in a Supplement, covering the body of what the latter published a few years since to disprove and refute the statement of Col. A. K. McClure, that Lincoln was secretly for Johnson and against Hamlin, completely vindicates Lincoln of anything of the sort, but whether it absolutely fixes upon Charles Sumner the responsibility for Hamlin's defeat and indirectly for the train of evils which came with Andrew Johnson's presidency, is not so certain. Frank B. Fay, one of the Massachusetts delegation which voted against Hamlin, is quoted as saying to Gen. Charles Hamlin a few days after the Baltimore convention, in answer to a question why Hamlin had been set aside, that "Charles Sumner and the Massachusetts delegation desired another candidate. The Massachusetts men had no objection to Mr. Hamlin on any personal score, but acted in accordance with Mr. Sumner's desires and wishes." On the other hand, a recent biographer of Charles Sumner, writing with full knowledge of this particular statement and all that has been said to prove Sumner the man who caused Hamlin's defeat, says:

"Senator Morrill, who attended the convention and on the day after its adjournment wrote Mr. Hamlin the history of Mr. Johnson's nomination (this letter is given in the book before us), does not allude to Mr. Sumner; nor has anyone ever shown any word or act of his before the nomination.

He was in the Senate during the convention, his correspondence is silent on the subject, and it was not his habit to interest himself in such contests. The whole evidence sustains the conclusion that he took no part in bringing about the change of candidates."

Judging from the brief account given of the 1880 Republican convention (the last political work in which Mr. Hamlin took any active part), it is clear that the author is unfamiliar with the real history of the movement which resulted, as had been planned and expected, in the defeat of the "Third Termers," as well as Blaine, and the nomination of Garfield. If the inside history of this movement shall ever be published it will show that Garfield's nomination was anything but the accident commonly supposed. Among other things in which he is imperfectly advised the author is evidently under the impression that the Maine delegation played an important part, for he says "that at the critical moment he (Hannibal Hamlin) directed the Maine delegation to break for Garfield." The first and important break in the Blaine vote was that of Wisconsin; this, combined with other things, forced the Blaine men to go to Garfield.

The book is in every respect well made. Printed in clear type on good paper, strongly and handsomely bound, and provided with several portraits of Hamlin and some of the men with whom he had public and personal relations, it is altogether a book deserving of a place in the library of every student of the history of the United States.

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#### The American Privateers.

*A History of American Privateers.* By EDGAR STANTON MACLAY. New York: D. Appleton & Co. \$3.50.

If Captain Mahan is the authority on naval strategy, Mr. Maclay is no less the authority on American naval history. This position is justly won through his "History of the United States Navy," a work which stands to-day, as it has ever since its first appearance, recognized and acknowledged as above all others the history of the American navy. And now comes Mr. Maclay with his promised history of the privateers, a work which but confirms and strengthens the enviable position and reputation which have been his for several years. This is a handsome volume, uniform in appearance and entire get up with the two that preceded it. We might go further with the comparison and say that the identical method of treatment which made the former work so attractive, so strong and so eminently readable and interesting, prevails here, and with like results. The book is, indeed, a stirring history of stirring actions, told man-fashion with the same directness and force which characterized those sterling men of action, whose doings the author recounts. Nowhere can interest lag. On the other hand this work, dealing with cold facts, plenty of them, but nothing else, possesses elements of excitement which it would sorely puzzle the novelist's imagination to surpass. The actions, stratagems, deeds of heroism and daring that Mr. Maclay describes from actual life possess an interest that is very real, and what is more, they one and all have about them that thrilling uncertainty which does not exist in your well ordered romance with its happy termination.

There is always a fascination attaching to those things in which we excel, and we never tire of hearing and speaking of them, for it is as pleasant to remember successes as to forget failures. And so, we may follow American enterprise, ingenuity and prowess on the seas with a pride and satisfaction that are not to be surpassed. Here may the eagle scream, and who shall question his right? Great have been the industrial conquests of our people, wonderful our growth, unexampled in the history of the world the development of our country, yet in nothing have we figured more prominently than on the sea. As Mr. Maclay pointed out in his first work and now does again, Americans have taught the world much about ships and their construction, how to handle and how to fight them. Indeed, the effect of American example has been to revolutionize the art (if we may so term anything so destructive) of naval warfare.

When we come to know the American privateer and what he did in the two wars with Great Britain, we begin to appreciate his true importance. We see how privateering was the great training schools for many of the naval commanders whose names glorify the annals of American history; furthermore, we get some adequate idea of the vast services rendered by these private owned vessels authorized to "burn, sink and destroy" the enemy's shipping. Let Mr. Maclay speak for us on both these points.

"We can better appreciate the high plane to which privateering had been raised at the hands of American seamen in the war for independence,



when we remember that some sixty of our most formidable privateers were commanded by men who were, or soon afterwards became, captains in the navy. In fact, the privateer service became the training school of our embryo navy, not only in supplying officers, but seamen. The conditions of early privateering were such as to develop an exceptionally capable group of officers, and not a little of the marvelous success attained by the infant navy of the United States is directly traceable to this circumstance."

Now as to the importance and work of the privateers:

"In summing up the record of our armed craft fitted out by private enterprise it will be found that in the struggle for independence one thousand one hundred and fifty-one privateers were commissioned. . . . These vessels are known to have captured three hundred and forty-three of the enemy's craft. . . . In the war of 1812 five hundred and fifteen privateers were commissioned. . . . These vessels are known to have captured one thousand, three hundred and forty-five craft of all kinds from the enemy."

But between these statistics, taken from page 506, and those given on the second page of the preface some discrepancies appear, trivial as far as the 1812 war is concerned, but very material in the case of the Revolutionary war. These we are unable to reconcile. In the preface we read that in the war for independence "there were seven hundred and ninety-two" privateers which "captured or destroyed about six hundred British vessels;" in the war of 1812 "five hundred and seventeen privateers . . . which took no fewer than one thousand three hundred prizes." Here is a difference for the Revolutionary war of no less than three hundred and fifty-nine vessels and say two hundred and fifty-seven prizes. We are persuaded to place reliance in the figures given in the preface for the reason that they are supported, at least as to the damage inflicted upon the enemy, by the testimony given in Parliament in 1778, as quoted by the author (page 131) and also by Mr. John R. Spears in his "History of Our Navy," to the effect that seven hundred and thirty-three vessels had been taken or destroyed, or deducting those retaken and restored, five hundred and fifty-nine. According to this testimony, as quoted by Mr. Maclay, the privateers made all these prizes; as given by Mr. Spears, the credit goes to both "ships of war and privateers." But, however, these differences, the importance of the service rendered by the privateers is obvious, and becomes still more apparent when we find that in the war for independence "sixty-four vessels of all descriptions" in the navy took but "one hundred and ninety-six vessels," and that in "the war of 1812 the regular navy of the United States on the ocean numbered only twenty-three vessels," which "captured two hundred and fifty-four of the enemy's craft."

We feel that Mr. Maclay makes a mistake in the way he compares the navy and privateers with our land forces, not so much in over-estimating the value of the services rendered by the former or in under-estimating the work done by the latter (for in the strict sense he does neither), as in failing to appreciate the sphere to which natural obstacles necessarily confined the land forces and the position they held in the public mind, particularly in the Revolution, with the result that he builds upon imperfect premises. For example, it is clearly unfair to compare the losses inflicted upon Great Britain by our soldiers with those caused by our sailors. The work of the army, in both the Revolutionary and 1812 wars, was confined to fighting British soldiers upon our own soil and to attempts upon Canada. Nothing else was possible. An army cannot injure an enemy across 3,000 miles of sea. In no way do we wish to detract from the just honor belonging to the navy and privateers in both wars, but we think the author does not add to it by drawing such a comparison between army and navy. It was, of course, most natural that the English felt American naval operations and feared American prowess at sea rather than on land, for the reason that while she was more than vulnerable at sea she could be but slightly injured, save in prestige, by reverses to her arms on American soil.

"The winter of 1777-78," remarks the author, "during which the American army, under the immediate command of Washington, had its headquarters at Valley Forge, has been popularly accepted as the darkest hour in our struggle for independence." As a matter of fact it was the darkest period of the war, and this notwithstanding all that American sailors had done and were doing. Why? Because the little band of ragged, half starved, half frozen men under Washington were in dire extremity, because the flag they held aloft was the one of all others that stood for the cause for which they suffered so terribly, and the men on ship-board fought so gallantly. The cause of American independence hung in the balance at Valley Forge, rested

When the first volume of Mr. Watson's notable work was reviewed by THE EVENING TELEGRAPH, Philadelphia, it said of the second:

"The public will await it impatiently. Therein, of course, the author will describe the period of the great Revolution, which will naturally be the crown of the entire work. We have every right to expect it to be an *exposition which will attract the notice of the world.*"

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GEORGE H. WARNER, in the *New York Times' Sat. Review.*

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BY THE HON. THOMAS E. WATSON

The comments on the completed work warrant the forecast:

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"Will be read with avidity by thousands of delighted readers."—*Philadelphia Press.*

"The living flesh and pulsing heart of history."—*Boston Transcript.*

"A work of surpassing strength and power."—*The American, Philadelphia.*

with the little army there rather than with the sailors on the high seas. And why? As Mr. Maclay correctly says: "The object of all wars is to operate on the mind of the enemy to the extent of bringing him to the desired terms." Now, during the Revolutionary war the British public, the American people, in fact, the whole of Europe, looked upon Washington and his army, and rightly, too, as the center of the rebellion. With him crushed the war would have come to an end even though American sailors had inflicted ten times the losses they did. The case may be stated thus: The Revolution succeeded because of a combination of circumstances; it would have failed without the naval operations, it would have had no existence without the land operations. The seamen depended quite as much, if less directly, on the land forces as they did on the seamen, and therefore we question the statement Mr. Maclay makes, in his natural and abundantly justified enthusiasm, tending to exalt the latter above the former. There is honor enough for all. To be sure the services rendered by American seamen have, during many long years, been commonly under-estimated, but this has not been from any desire on the part of the American people, naturally fair minded and just, to deny them full credit, but rather to an ignorance of the subject—an ignorance which cannot live side by side with Mr. Maclay's masterful works.

So closely has the author followed his subject that it is easy to accept his belief "that all the actions in which American privateers, both in the Revolution and in the war of 1812, were engaged, have been noted in this work." If any have been omitted it is scarcely probable that they are of any considerable consequence. The work stands at once a monument to American privateers and a record of their work, so complete, so well written and so accurate that it is almost inconceivable that it will or need ever be done over again.

### BRIEFER NOTICES.

*Let There Be Light.* By DAVID LUBIN. G. P. Putnam's Sons. New York. \$1.50.

Already quite well known to the economic world through his efforts to establish a system of governmental bounties on American farm exports, Mr. David Lubin has, in this book, taken a step decidedly unique and original in boldly publishing his advanced views on economic and theological questions. As a student of present-day conditions he has abandoned all hope of any real and true reform save through the most drastic measures. While admitting that much may be done by methods often employed for the betterment of mankind, he is yet of the opinion that the shortest road to an era of perfect contentment and real happiness is by the employment of rigorous and stringent measures. He weighs many of the foremost tenets of reformers in the balance, but finds one and all, though often in the right direction, inefficient and therefore wanting. Mr. Lubin has made what he considers to be a most important and valuable discovery, almost, we might say, an inspired discovery. It is, in fact, a call to all the dissatisfied and groping human beings to give their full and undivided attention to the religion of God, as

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he sees it, with a view of joining the "new faith" which he terms the "Church Universal." Mr. Lubin is firmly convinced that the Church of to-day, be it Jew or Gentile, is a failure in that it does not hold the people or give them the spiritual hope and comfort that would rightfully be theirs if the Church was the true Church. This new faith is founded on the basic principles of the Bible and New Testament, and it will be hard for Church-goers to cry it down, as they most certainly will attempt to do. This we say for the reason that all things radical and new are opposed and cried down by those of the existing order who always fear the effects of the advent of the progressive and new.

Mr. Lubin may, indeed, be too far ahead of the times, though this is open to question when we come to consider the wonderful advance made by such religious believers as he during the past few years, as witness the large number of constantly growing Brotherhood societies all traveling towards a common point, though by different roads—the truth of God. The author may be, and we think is, a little too visionary for practical workable agitation, but his work must and will tell by reason of its fairness and absolute justness. We do not wish it to be understood that we endorse his new faith, for the truth is we find much to which we cannot agree, but this we do say: we endorse his conclusions, which teach mankind to go forth into the world in search of the real and living God, to look for Him in daily life, in the hours of pleasure and of study, in the field and forest, in pain and suffering as well as in joy and pleasure. It is what we might well call a nature religion, a religion founded on the truth of God's own works as shown us day by day and year by year. In no way does such a religion antagonize in the slightest degree the religion of God as expounded by Christ and His Disciples; rather does it strengthen and make clear the Word as He and they would have it understood.

Mr. Lubin's book is worth more than a casual reading; it cannot but interest and stimulate the mind; cannot fail in doing a little toward a better and truer conception of the true religion. We must say, however, in all fairness, that this book makes very heavy and, at times, tiresome reading.

\*\*

*Robert Tourney. A Romance of the French Revolution. By WILLIAM SAGE. Illustrated. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. \$1.50.*

Here is a book, that, while not a great one, has still all the requisite requirements that go to make up the popular romance of the day. We do not say this to disparage in any way this book or others of like tenor. We only wish we might truthfully and fairly say as much for the generality of novels as we assuredly can for this one. Above all else it is a love story that Mr. Sage has given us, and here he is master. No lover's sigh is so soft, no glance so languishing, no posture so alluring, but that the author can understand and express it in a delightfully bewitching way wholly his own. Mr. Sage's Romeo and Juliet carry one through the whole alphabet of love, for he is as easily scornful as he is tender, and between the two he is perfectly at home. As a love story, let us repeat, this book leaves nothing to be desired, and as such it will, beyond question, win a reception most gratifying to both author and publisher. The demand for such a book as "Robert Tourney" can never be satisfied so long as lovers pine and dream of one another, and so long as the world still loves a lover.

Passing from that which is in all ways admirable and commendable, we can but voice our deep regret that Mr. Sage has failed, and most miserably, to give his readers a story at all worthy of what "a romance of the French Revolution" should be. The opportunity open to the novelist who shall really succeed in presenting the true history of the French Revolution is a sublimely grand one. Of all the movements of men to free and lift themselves into the position rightfully theirs but denied to them by the numerically few rich and powerful, this world revolution was the one above all others that worked the farthest for the ultimate advantage of the human race. The French Revolution will ever stand forth in all the glory of its divine nobility as the beacon light of liberty, fraternity, equality—the brotherhood of man. Strange as it may seem, this glorious and immortal period of French and the world's history, is yet untold as it should be by any novelist. The people's side only lives through the magnitude of the work accomplished. Writers have as a rule approached the Revolution with hostile mien, and the few who have desired to present the real Revolution have, unfortunately and but too sadly, failed to grasp its possibilities as a subject. Still the general interest of the world is gradually being awakened in the great world's revolution and we may look

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with hope to the future. Mr. Sage does not understand his subject sufficiently well to fill this want, but his book is in the right direction and will help whet the public's appetite to a degree that must uncover in time the brilliant master hand that will electrify the world by the beauty, the truth, the nobility and the sacrifice of the tale. Until such time we trust many more writers of fiction will see the broad opportunities afforded by the French Revolution. The book is attractive in appearance, though the cover is a bit too flashy with its burning torch effect.

\*\*

*The Liar.* By GILBERT PARKER. Boston: Brown & Co. 50 cents.

The three short stories by Gilbert Parker that go to make up this decidedly diminutive volume are not without considerable merit. Particularly is this so in the case of the first, which gives the book its title. In this story Mr. Parker displays much skill in the drawing of character and in the portrayal of scene and emotion. The story is well worth a careful reading, first for its own odd merits, and second as another side to a many-sided and versatile author. Mr. Parker has, of course, done many finer, more superior and more grandly pretentious pieces of writing than this short tale of human character and passion, but he has never penned anything more unique and of a class by itself than "The Liar." Of the other two stories making up the book there is really nothing to say either for or against; they are neither good nor bad, fish nor fowl—simply ordinary, indifferent. The book is of convenient size and shape for pocket use and to any one contemplating a journey will prove a good friend.

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*Picture Study in Elementary Schools.* A Manual for Teachers. By L. W. WILSON. Part I: Primary Grades. Part II: Grammar Grades. New York: The Macmillan Co. 90 cents each.

A great problem certainly is that of teaching the little ones; how great, how difficult, how complex and how exacting upon tact and judgment can scarcely be imagined by those who have not wrestled with it and undertaken to solve it practically. Not only must we teach the children, but the teachers as well, for upon them far more depends than might, at first thought, be granted. These two books are for the teachers, intended to guide and assist them in conducting classes which shall be taught with the aid of complementary volumes of a similar nature and covering the identical ground. Mrs. Wilson, of the Philadelphia Normal School, has already shown remarkable resourcefulness in originating methods to gain and hold the attention and interest of young children, and she now presents another which is more than attractive. This plan and these books "are designed to aid teachers in imparting to children a true appreciation of, and love for, the paintings of the world's great masters." Here is a field which offers large and excellent results, none the less so because it has seldom been opened to the very young. This manual is so arranged that "each school is represented by four or five of its most famous examples," which are "studied with a view to the appropriateness of their subjects to the months of the school year." There is a short biographical sketch of each painter, and, supplementing the fine pictures (50 in Part I, and 40 in Part II), are authoritative criticisms upon the original paintings which bring out admirably the fine points, character and meaning of each. In addition, there are handy bibliographies for reference, and suggestions as to how best to call into action and develop the pupil's mental powers. There is unfortunately considerable duplication of matter between the two volumes which seems wasteful and costly, yet possibly this is better than if the second part were reduced as it might be by frequent reference to the first. We think, too, that a few words on the distinguishing characteristics of the work of each painter would have proved highly useful and well within the scope of the manual.

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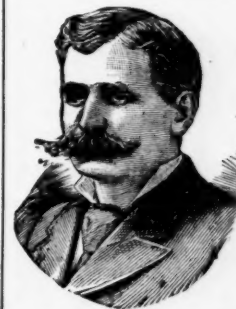
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## IN THE LITERARY WORLD.

The influence of current events upon literature, or, more correctly, the expression they find in books has become very marked of late years. No sooner is public interest aroused over anything than the publishers' presses are busy turning out books relative to it. Naturally the majority having little real merit and no lasting qualities, are soon lost sight of; but there is pretty sure to appear something of a different order. Such seems to be "The War in South Africa," an important work by J. A. Hobson, who, though an Englishman, is strongly opposed to the policy of the British government. The book has just been issued by the Macmillan Co.

The total eclipse of the sun, which will occur on May 28, through some of the Southern states, imparts a special interest to the useful little volume, "The Story of Eclipses," by George F. Chambers, recently published by D. Appleton & Company.

A new volume of short stories of Irish life and character, by Seumas MacManus, will be published by McClure, Phillips & Co. early in the autumn. These tales, it is said, will be entirely new, none of them hitherto having appeared in any of the magazines.

The Tucker Publishing Co., New York, have issued in pamphlet form the recent speech of Senator Hoar on the Philippines, under title of "The Lust of Empire."

D. Appleton & Co. will publish next week Frank M. Claman's "Bird Stories with a Camera," which tells the story how the naturalist goes stalking large and small birds with photographic lens instead of a gun. The book is beautifully illustrated with half-tone reproductions of the author's own photographs, the originals of which were secured by a most diligent searching which was not entirely void of either romance or danger.

## PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED.

- A CHRISTIAN BUT A ROMAN. By Maurus Jokai. Pp. 166. New York: Doubleday & McClure Co. 50c.
- OUR NEW PROSPERITY. By Ray Stannard Baker. Pp. 272. New York: Doubleday & McClure Co. \$1.25.
- HIS LORDSHIP'S LEOPARD. A Truthful Narration of Some Impossible Facts. By David Dwight Wells. Pp. 301. New York: Henry Holt & Co. \$1.50.
- THE BURDEN OF CHRISTOPHER. By Florence Converse. Pp. 315. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. \$1.50.
- THE JURY TRIAL OF 1900. Bryan vs. McKinley. By Joseph R. McLaughlin. Pp. 294. Illustrated. Chicago: Laird & Lee. 75c.
- PHILIP WINWOOD. By Robert Neilson Stephens. Pp. 412. Illustrated. Boston: L. C. Page & Co. \$1.50.
- LET THERE BE LIGHT. By David Lubin. Pp. 526. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.
- THE GRIP OF HONOR. A Story of Paul Jones and the American Revolution. By Cyrus Townsend Brady. Pp. 246. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. \$1.50.

## Reduced Rates to North Manchester, Ind., via Pennsylvania Railroad.

For meeting of German Baptist Brethren, at North Manchester, Ind., May 29 to June 8, 1900, the Pennsylvania Railroad Company will place special excursion tickets on sale May 29 to June 3, 1900, from stations west of Baltimore (not inclusive), and Lancaster and Reading (inclusive), and south of and including Sunbury, at rate of one first-class limited fare for the round trip. Tickets will be good returning until July 1, inclusive.—*Adv.*

## Reduced Rates to Camden, Ind., via. Pennsylvania Railroad.

For meeting of Old Order of German Baptist Brethren at Camden, Ind., June 3 to 5, 1900, the Pennsylvania Railroad Company will sell from May 31 to June 3, inclusive, excursion tickets to Camden, Ind., from stations on its line west of Baltimore, Md. (not inclusive), west of and including Lancaster and Reading, and from stations south of and including Sunbury, at rate of one first-class limited fare for the round trip. Tickets will be good returning until July 5, inclusive.—*Adv.*

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